1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

APPENDIX 1

Translation Methods and the Interpreter in the Field

Before my work in Hsin Hsing village, I had been trained in Mandarin. This enabled me to converse freely and conduct interviews with Mandarin speakers. However, the majority of villagers and other people of the area spoke little or no Mandarin. At that time Taiwanese (Min-nan *Hua* or Amoy), which is one of the Fukinese languages, was their native tongue and Japanese in many instances their second language.

After a short time in the field, I was able to handle the common courtesies of the Taiwanese language of the village. And after a time I understood a great deal more of Taiwanese than I could actually speak. But this lack of a working knowledge of Taiwanese and Japanese meant that if the research was to be carried on in any depth, an interpreter who could speak both languages was necessary.

The individual employed for this purpose was a twenty-five-year-old Taiwanese man. Although brought up in Taichung—then a city of 225,000 about twenty-five miles from the village—the interpreter had secured much of his formal education in an agricultural high school. Moreover, his father operated a small farm outside the city limits. He had a great deal of familiarity with rural life and farming techniques, and throughout the course of the research his familiarity proved to be of great value. He helped facilitate good relations with the villagers, since he shared the same cultural and linguistic background as the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing.

The age and sex of the interpreter was an important consideration. His sex made it possible to interview the majority of the villagers. This even included most women, except young girls in their teens, young women not yet married, and some newlywed girls. At the age of twenty-five, he was young enough to have good rapport with teen-age boys and with boys of marriageable age. At the same time, he was old enough—mostly by virtue of his education and his recognised experience—to have good rapport with the older men and local officials.

The interpreter was fluent in four languages—Taiwanese, Japanese, Mandarin, and English. Soon after beginning the research, he could rapidly and accurately translate Taiwanese, Japanese, and Mandarin into English and easily reverse the process. In addition to his language facility, the interpreter was especially well suited for the job because of his pleasant personality and lack of condescension toward the village people. Just as my wife and I came to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Just as my wife and I came to be genuinely fond of many of the villagers as people, so did the interpreter. His warm attitude toward the villagers was extremely important. The villagers' impression of the interpreter—at least at the beginning—is likely to be transferred to the researcher. What the researcher says to the informant or hears from the informant must pass through the interpreter, who merely by tone of voice and facial expressions can either hinder or help in creating a warm and friendly relationship. Under such circumstances the researcher has little control over the situation. Although a single poor translation may produce some inaccurate data, a slight conflict in personality between interpreter and informant may cause the alienation of one and perhaps more of the informants.

On those occasions when the interpreter translated from Mandarin to English, I had the opportunity to check on the accuracy of his translations. Especially at the beginning of the fieldwork, I specifically requested that the interpreter translate from Mandarin. Since I knew Mandarin, I could make any necessary corrections in the translation or could at least discuss his translation technique. It was hoped that any necessary improvements would then be carried into the translation of Japanese to Mandarin or English.

Throughout the research period the interpreter lived in the village as a member of our household. Through frequent discussions, he became quite familiar with the nature of the research and usually knew the objectives of each interview. Although the interviews were directed, they were of a free conversational type which permitted following up promising leads as they developed in the course of a conversation.

On frequent occasions it became necessary and feasible for the interpreter to carry on lengthy, uninterrupted discussions with an informant on some question raised during the course of the interview. Since the interpreter had proven himself to be accurate and reliable, such a situation was not detrimental. But regardless of how good the interpreter is, something must be lost to the researcher, who in this case, more than ever the third party, must wait patiently to hear what has taken place between the interpreter and the informant. The interpreter's familiarity with the nature of the research can be of great help in such an interview situation.

But a serious problem may be created by the situation which has just been described. The interpreter may not be aware of points raised by his discussion with the informant which may need further investigation. The researcher may lose the opportunity to delve more deeply into leads which might be pertinent for his study. Under such a system something must be lost, but this is only one of the many problems inherent in an interview technique which relies on the use of an interpreter (Phillips 1959–1960).

At the same time, there are many positive things to be said for the use of an interpreter. The interview situation, to say the least, is not an easy one. For the researcher it is often quite wearisome not only to ask the questions and listen to answers but to keep the conversation flowing, always watching for information or a lead on a totally different subject. Such an interview does not usually go according to any schedule. In addition to all this, the researcher must record all the pertinent data, either in writing or, in my case, by committing it to memory for later recording. A well-trained interpreter

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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PEOPLE AND PLACES

All of the surnames and personal names in this book are pseudonyms. They are written according to Chinese custom: surname preceding personal names. All names except for the one man who was born on the mainland of China are Hokkien and are romanized according to the system devised by Nicholas C. Bodman in his text, *Spoken Amoy Hokkien* (Charles Grenier & Son Ltd., Kuala Lumpur, 1955). Tone marks and other linguistic devices have been omitted.

Place names other than that of Taiwan and its major cities are also fictitious. They are written in a standard romanization of Mandarin, using the post office spelling now customary among students of China.

THE PLACES

Chuanchou	A district in Fukien from which the Lim family migrated
Hotien	The district in which Peihotien is located
Lungyen	A small city near Peihotien
Nanhotien	Another village in the Hotien district
Peihotien	The village in which the Lim family lives
Tainan	A large city in the southern part of the island
Taipei	Capital of Taiwan
Tapu	The market town which serves Peihotien
Tungan	A section of the Chuanchou district in Fukien

THE PEOPLE

Chang Jong-kuei	A mainlander, married to Gioq-ki
Iu Mui-mue	Lim Han-ci's third adopted daughter; adopted to marry Lim Chieng-cua but did not do so
Lau Bit	Daughter of Lau Kim-chiok, Lim Chieng-cua's former mistress
Lau Kim-chiok	Mistress of Lim Chieng-cua

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128 Li Guat-ngo — Adopted daughter of Lim A-pou

115 Lim A-bok — First born son of Lim Hue-lieng and his adopted sister, A-pou

Lim A-hua — Adopted daughter of Lim Hue-lieng and his second wife, So-lan

Lim A-ki — Wife of A-bok

Lim A-pou — Lim Han-ci's first adopted daughter; wife of Lim Hue-lieng

Lim Bieng-cu — Second daughter, fifth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Chieng-cua — Second son of Lim Han-ci; present head of the house of Lim

Lim Chui-ieng — Wife of Lim Chieng-cua

Lim Cin-hok — Fourth son, sixth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Gioq-ki — Oldest daughter of Lim Hue-lieng and his second wife, So-lan; only child born to them

Lim Han-ci — The father

Lim Hue-lieng — Eldest son of Lim Han-ci

Lim Kim-hok — First born son of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Kui-hok — Third son, fourth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Le-cu — First daughter, second child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Lim Masa — Second son of Lim Hue-lieng and his adopted sister, A-pou

Lim So-lan — Second wife of Lim Hue-lieng

Lim Thiam-hok — Second son, third child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng

Ng Kok-hua — Son of Ng Kui-lian; proprietor of Peihotien's store

Ng Kui-lian — Go-between for marriage of Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng

Tan A-hong — Lim Han-ci's second adopted daughter who was re-sold when his own daughter was returned

Tan Chai-ngo — Second-born daughter of Tan A-hong

Tan Chun-ieng — First-born daughter of Tan A-hong

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thing. When he warned her that she couldn't live at home or at her grandfather's, she answered, 'All right, I won't come back here at all.' She moved to Taipei and lived with Chang. My mother and I cried every day for hours and her father got angrier and angrier. He said he would kill her if he found her. She made his life miserable. He told me once, 'All my life I have been very careful of my family's name and I have scorned other people who did such things as this. Never did I think my own daughter would marry one of them.'

"We hated Chang for tricking our daughter away from us. He knew she was our only daughter and his heart must be very hard that he could steal a family's only child.

"Later my husband's friends told him that he must forget all this and let them get married. We finally had to agree. There was nothing more we could do because Gioq-ki was about to have a child.

"One thing is very strange. My husband threatened to kill Gioq-ki and this man, but after they were married and his grandson was born, he treated them very well. I think he was really fond of them by the time he died."

Not long after the birth of his grandson, Lim Hue-lieng fell ill, evidently from something connected with his injuries. His last illness was long and trying, but it wasn't until his death was imminent that his father had him moved to the family home. A relative of the family told me of those last weeks: "Lim So-lan took care of him all alone while he was ill and during the last stages she was with him day and night. Lim A-pou didn't seem to pay any attention to him at all and acted as though she thought, 'This doesn't concern me.' When Lim Hue-lieng died, So-lan cried for days and days, but his wife, Lim A-pou, didn't grieve at all."

Lim So-lan told me very simply, "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time with my mother then. He was very good to my family and even though he was not really my husband, I lived with him for a long time. This year I will have a tablet made and burn incense for him on Ch'ing Ming Chieh."

Very little of my information about Lim Hue-lieng's life came from his younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua. Lim Chieng-cua was quite frank about the various roles the *lo mua* have played in the history of the village and its present affairs. His opinion of them is not always negative, but he always uses the term *lo mua* to refer to a collective group and rarely to a specific person or his contributions. On occasion

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he pointed out one of our neighbors who had been an active *lo mua* in his youth, or some of the young men who participate with the *lo mua* on an amateur basis, but he never discussed his own family's connection with *lo mua* activities, past or present. At first I accepted this as a device to protect his family, but as the months went by and our staff became more accepted in the gossip sessions of our neighbors, I found that he did not allude to his brother's connections in conversations with others either. I do not believe Lim Chieng-cua is particularly ashamed of his brother's career or that he harbors any deep hatred of him, but rather that as head of the Lim family he intends to maintain for the family the aura of normal respectability his father struggled to create. His brother, even after his career outside the village was ended, never took the responsibility in the family expected of an eldest son. He submitted to a marriage with the girl of his father's choice, but he never really returned to the family. If his career was responsible for the family's sudden rise to prosperity, fate could just as easily have sent some other form of luck. Lim Chieng-cua prefers to have it believed that Lim Hue-lieng was a deviant and not representative of the family established by Lim Han-ci. He wants the Lims of Peihotien to be known not as an obscure family made wealthy overnight by the doubtfully obtained fortune of one of its sons, but rather as an old, well-respected family that came upon better days due to the perseverance of the father.

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*159 husband's family has no standards for comparison. She accepts her
*596 life because she knows no other.

*593 As a girl and as a young woman, Lim A-pou evinced all the
584 behavior hoped for by families who adopt daughters. She accepted
597 reprimands and punishments without becoming sullen, she did not complain, and she worked at whatever job was at hand with a diligence that must have been impressive to satisfy such a hard taskmaster as Lim Han-ci. Several people told me that the old man was particularly fond of his adopted daughter and often said of her, "Where can you find another person who works as hard as A-pou?"
[461] His words are as apt today as they were then. She is always busy, and her activities are always productive. Whether in the fields or in the kitchen, her movements are efficient and purposeful. She can easily manage to cook for their family of fourteen, help her bewildered daughter-in-law care for a sick baby, and still have time to rake over a yard of drying rice every hour. The extent to which the family depends upon her was amusingly, if frustratingly, illustrated on one of the rare days she was away. Lim A-ki, her daughter-in-law, proved incapable of both cooking and attending to the needs of her two small children, and the smell of scorching food brought laughing neighbors
[231] in to help and to further the confusion. It was truly a memorable occasion in that Lim Chui-ieng was ordered by her husband to assist by washing down the pig pens, a daily task that takes A-pou a half hour and took the appalled Chui-ieng the better part of an afternoon.

I tried many times, without success, to get A-pou to reminisce
[115] about her childhood. She was very helpful in providing me with general information about the customs of adoption and the treatment of adopted daughters, but when I attempted to turn the conversation to her own experiences, I never got beyond a proverb. Once I twisted one of her proverbs into a question and asked, "Is it better to be a daughter or an adopted daughter?" It was a foolish question, but she didn't laugh. She just looked away and answered quietly, "I don't know. I have never been a daughter."

A-pou's fate as an adult was to marry her foster brother, Lim Hue-lieng. If she objected, and it must have been obvious that Lim Hue-lieng would be something less than a husband to her, she kept her objections to herself. There was little to be gained by a protest and much to be lost. Her foster father looked upon the marriage as a

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over 70. Around the village she wears dark cotton pants, hemmed to a clumsy level between ankle and knee, and a white Mandarin smock, sleeveless in summer and long-sleeved in winter. For her infrequent trips to Tapu or nearby temples, she wears dark Mandarin-collared dresses cut so loosely and with such decorous side slits that their generic relationship with the fashionable, clinging cheong-sam of Hongkong is questionable. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled tightly back into a neat knot low on her neck. It is rarely disordered even in the roughest of farm work because (much to the horror of my modern minded interpreter) she keeps a heavy coating of fat on it.

Lim A-pou's extraordinary old-fashionedness, or devotion to tradition, is not limited to her dress. I found her, as do many of her neighbors, an excellent informant on ancient home remedies, rituals for placating household gods and ghosts, techniques for protecting pregnant women, and for purifying rooms following childbirth. Part of her conflict with her late husband's younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua, results from his introduction of more economical practices in the ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Many families on Taiwan now combine the ceremonies celebrating their more distant ancestors' birth and death days, presenting the expensive offerings of meat and fowl to them all on the same day, rather than repeating the expense for each on their specific anniversary. Besides this, Lim Chieng-cua also abolished the bi-monthly offerings to Tu Ti Kung—a less expensive ceremony but one that has not been celebrated in many households for decades. A-pou bitterly resented these omissions and continued to offer an apologetic bit of incense each night and morning to preserve what to her was at least a semblance of propriety. When Lim Chieng-cua installed the new pump in the house without consulting the almanac, A-pou was angry for days. According to the almanac, the Placenta God was resting in that particular room on that particular day. Through Lim Chieng-cua's negligence, the little god was disturbed or injured, and he took his vengeance on A-pou's grandson in the form of a high fever. Before the fever was finally controlled with an injection of penicillin, Lim Chieng-cua and his nephew, the father of the child, had to endure a week of foul humor, both of them alarmed by the illness and neither of them believing in A-pou's theory of causation.

Due to the indiscretion of the only other person who knew of the event, I learned of Lim A-pou's one lapse from rigid respectability.

122 Taiwanese was studied informally in the village. Our limited command of the two languages also provided a means of checking data.

124 Additionally, two villagers were employed, one 115 male and one female, both excellent in Taiwanese and reasonably fluent in Mandarin. The female was a young primary school graduate from Sanlei, primarily employed as household help. However, she was bright, active, sensitive, observant, privy to village gossip, the daughter of one of the informal village leaders, and proved most helpful. The boy was from Erhlei, a part-time farm laborer studying drafting nights and Saturdays in a Taipei technical high school. Villagers considered him a very good boy and he was very popular. He was first employed to make a village map of households and fields and detailed household plans. Since he had ready access to all village houses, he also made periodic inventories of possessions including the farm animals. He too became an excellent informant. Since both were bilingual in Mandarin and Taiwanese, they often proved useful as interpreters during our period of residence in the village for only one of the regular assistants lived in the village. Our ability in Taiwanese never reached a level sufficient for serious interviews but we could use it for simple polite conversation. We both understood more than we could speak.